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The Christian Socialist

VOL. II. No. 10. DANVILLE, ILLINOIS, MAY 15, 1905. Whole No. 26.

THE INFINITE

BY JOHN BOYLE O'RIELLY

The Infinite always is silent:
It is only the Finite speaks.
Our words are the idle wave-caps
On the deep that never breaks.
We may question with wand of science,
Explain, decide, discuss;
But only in meditation
The Mystery speaks to us.

THE SILENCE OF GOD

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS

The best things have their special perils. One of the best things in the inner history of mankind is mysticism, and its special peril is intellectual vagueness. Therefore, when I make an attempt on ground which is partly that of mysticism, I am bound above all things to try to be clear. In the present attempt, therefore, let me put ideas into the most direct terms which come to hand, avoiding circumlocutions, even those which might more gracefully set forth that which is meant; ignoring, also, for which I ask pardon in advance, all preconceptions, and speaking of things just as they look at the moment.

The first proposition, then, is that the silence of God is the tragedy of life. This saying needs no explanation, for it is spoken to the man bred in the latter half of the nineteenth century; the man who, in the hours when he is alone, face to face with the darkness, does not find himself meditating in quiet and confidence, but finds himself confronting the black doubt, never downed: "Have we in truth a Friend in the Unknown? Will He help us across the chasm of death?" Every one of us has his own way of evading this presence. We must evade it, we are bound to evade it, but there is no release from that war. Even the reassuring sayings of Jesus do not suffice to stop every way against that enemy; for there recurs that one most self-authenticating cry of his which echoes in the hour of doubt, as possibly the heart-break of the young idealist, disillusioned at the critical moment.

Facing the question purely as an intellectual one, of course the simplest theory is the negative: that there is no friendly Being in whom we live and move and have our being, but that we are mere monads, starting out of the darkness, trembling a little while alone in twilight and then extinct in the darkness again. This theory, though simple, crosses the whole set of our nature; and there is no doubt that we are morally bound by the purest utilitarian ethics not to put it forth and not to accept it ourselves, so long as any reasonable alternative theory remains.

There does remain the alternative theory that what causes our distress is not the non-existence of God but the silence of God. This theory is not a simple one, for it calls upon us to frame an hypothesis, such as shall arise naturally out of the facts, to account for the silence of God. Such an hypothesis can, however, I think, be framed, consisting of two parts: first, a supposition as to man, and second, a supposition as to God. The supposition as to man is, that in that phase of our nature which has to do with the apprehension of God we are not self-centred and separate mental units, but that in some way that part of our natures merges itself into a common basis. This idea can be made clear by comparing mankind to a forest on level ground; the roots of the trees all go down into the common soil, and if there is water in that soil they will all be watered, while if there is no water they will all go dry. The varying of the apprehension of God in the experience of humanity from age to age is like the rising and the falling of the level of moisture in the soil under the forest, affecting all the trees alike. Not all to the same degree, for some trees strike their roots deeper than others; even so there are some men who, in any age, would be atheists, and there are others who, in any age, would be confident theists.

The second supposition has to do with God: It is that the mode of being of God differs radically from the mode of being of man; that in God being and quality are in some nameless way blended, so that mankind cannot have the apprehension of the BEING of God except as mankind is in tune with the QUALITY of God.

Starting with these two suppositions, the hypothesis goes on to say that the non-apprehension of God, so typical of the present age, is due really, though obscurely, to the new consciousness of mankind of corporate dereliction in industrial and social life. To feel one's self in harmony with the Best was an easier matter to the generation which went before us: all a man needed was to keep his contracts, expressed and implied, and to be kind to a few suffering individuals as he had opportunity. But now a sudden weight of collective responsibility has fallen on our shoulders, and thus has the under-consciousness of mankind been put out of tune with the Best.

This hypothesis, if adopted even tentatively, sounds a trumpet call, "Up and be doing!" It calls us to labor in season and out of season for the socializing of man's work and the product of his work; for the marshalling of all citizens as real workers; for the ownership by the collective workers of the things they must have the use of—the land and the machinery—and for the breaking down, as speedily as can be without stopping the wheels, of the profit-mongers' despotism over production. This consummation will be the coming in at last of the Kingdom of God in the real and substantial life of mankind. Then, once again, the winds of God shall blow upon the attuned strings of the heart of man and the gentle voice of God shall ceaselessly reassure us of the light beyond the darkness.

A CALL TO COLLEGE MEN AND WOMEN

In the opinion of the undersigned the recent remarkable increase in the Socialist vote in America should serve as an indication to the educated men and women in the country, that Socialism is a thing concerning which it is no longer wise to be indifferent.

The undersigned, regarding its aims and fundamental principles with sympathy, and believing that in them will ultimately be found the remedy for many far-reaching economic evils, propose organizing an association, to be known as the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, for the purpose of promoting an intelligent interest in Socialism among college men, graduate and undergraduate, through the formation of study clubs in the colleges and universities, and the encouraging of all legitimate endeavors to awaken an interest in Socialism among the educated men and women of the country. All persons who care to join in such a society and aid in such work are requested to send their names to the temporary secretary, Miss M. R. Holbrook, P. O. box 1663, New York, N. Y.

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THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON,
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THE OLD MUST DIE

The real question everywhere is whether the world, distracted and confused as everybody sees that it is, is going to be patched up and restored to what it used to be, or whether it is going forward into a quite new and different kind of life, whose exact nature nobody can pretend to foretell, but which is to be distinctly new, unlike the life of any age which the world has seen already. . . . . It is impossible that the old conditions, so shaken and broken, can ever be repaired and stand just as they stood before. The time has come when something more than mere repair and restoration of the old is necessary. The old must die and a new must come forth out of its tomb.—Phillips Brooks.

MOST TIMELY NOW

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain: that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.—From the address of President Lincoln at Gettysburg, Nov. 19, 1863.

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE

This number of the Christian Socialist reaches many who will not receive another copy unless they subscribe. If you are not a subscriber, please send your name in at once with the small sum of 50c for a year's subscription. Do not delay. You may forget it. DO IT NOW.

The reader may make a neat, convenient pamphlet of this paper by cutting the upper edges.

Socialism and Religion in France and in the United States

I

A LETTER FROM FRANCE TO THE COLLECTIVIST SOCIETY OF NEW YORK

Bourg-la-Reine, Dec. 28 1904.

To the Collectivist Society, P. O. Box 1663, New York, U. S. A.

Comrades:—Some time ago I received from you, with the enclosed slip, three pamphlets called 'The Socialism of Jesus,' Socialism and Collectivism,' 'Notes on the Class Struggle.' I have read them with great interest and appreciation, though I am a more doctrinaire Socialist than the author of 'Socialism and Collectivism,' and on the other hand am not quite orthodox on the 'economic interpretation of history.' I have written on the printed slip the names of a few friends to whom these pamphlets might be sent with advantage. They are all of them Christians, with strong democratic or even socialistic tendencies, but not fully class-conscious.

As a Christian and a Socialist I was specially interested in 'The Socialism of Jesus.' It has struck me that a French translation of this pamphlet might do good work here, where Christians and Soclalists are generally strongly prejudiced against each other. Would you allow me to publish such a translation? And if so, might I exercise my discretion in leaving out any little sentence I might think liable to be misunderstood by my countrymen? And might I add one or two footnotes, of course signing them myself?

Since I received your pamphlets I have sent you regularly my little periodical *La Clock d' Alarme*, and shall continue doing so, if it can interest any of you knowing French. I shall be happy to receive in exchange any matter you will be kind enough to send me. Believe me, yours truly, PAUL PASSY

(Professor of Phonetics at the Paris University,—President of the Society of Volunteer Evangelists.)

II

LETTER IN REPLY

New York, January 11th, 1905.

Professor Paul Passy, No. 20 Rue de Madeleine, Bourg-la-Reine, France.

Dear Comrade:—Being the writer of the pamphlet "The Socialism of Jesus," and a member of the Collectivist Society Executive Committee, the Secretary has handed me your very welcome letter of the 28th ult. It is truly cheering to us to receive such appreciative words from other lands, and we certainly shall be much pleased to have you translate and publish the pamphlet referred to, making any omissions or adding any notes which may seem best to you.

I remember some time ago seeing your paper "La Cloche d' Alarme" and looking it over and taking it to be a voice for religion, temperance, purity and Socialism. That kind of preaching in this country serves but little purpose except to relieve the conscience of some who might otherwise be driven to study Socialism in its effective form. However, it now occurs to me, since making your acquaintance as it were, that in France as much initiative is required for preaching evangelism as in this country for preaching Socialism, and I should not like to say that you are not taking exactly the right course. I shall very gladly read the magazine regularly hereafter.

We would be delighted to enroll you upon our membership if you feel disposed to join us, and would accept your magazine as payment of your annual dues. I am going to have one or two periodicals sent you, which reflect the happy blending of evangelical religion with active Socialism, which is now considerably in evidence in this country, and is rapidly growing. As you will see, it is a class-conscious Socialism and holds the doctrine of the economic interpretation of history, but of course insists that it is fallacious to identify that doctrine with the materialist philosophy. I am also mailing you a copy of what seems to me the most important book of the last year, namely, Mr. Ghent's "Mass and Class." Mr. Ghent is one of our Executive Committee; and had previously written a book entitled "Our Benevolent Feudalism."

I am the writer both of pamphlet No. 1—"Socialism and Collectivism," and of the first article in pamphlet No. 5—"Notes on the Class Struggle." The former was a true expression of the way the matter looked to me three years ago, and the latter will show you how far I have progressed from the earlier rather vague position towards a clear-cut scientific doctrine. It is a great intellectual satisfaction to feel that one has found the solid foundation for his theory.

I expect to visit Europe some time in the year 1906 and should like extremely to call upon you and talk all these matters over with you at that time. In the meantime it will be a great pleasure to hear from you by letter. I am told that there is good prospect of the various Socialist factions in France coming together in the near future, and should be glad to know how probable this is, from your point of view.

Fraternally yours, W.

III

A SECOND LETTER FROM FRANCE.

Bourg-la-Reine, Feb. 5, '05.

Dear Comrade and Brother:— I was extremely glad to receive your letter, and also the papers you were so kind as to send me, particularly Ghent's 'Mass and Class,' which I have not yet read but shall do so with great interest. A few days later I also received a letter from Rev. Leighton Williams, to whom I understand you had shown mine.

I am very much obliged to you for permission to translate 'The Socialism of Jesus'. I hope to get that done soon.

I enclose my enrolment pledge to the Collectivist Society, of which I shall be happy to be a member. I shall have the Cloche sent regularly to the Committee, to yourself and to Mr. Williams. Concerning this little paper, the fact is that it is primarily a purely evangelistic organ, created to teach our people something about the true Christian religion, of which they practically know nothing, and to promote temperance and purity. When it passed into my hands, I found it necessary to add a political department, and some socialistic notes, for two chief reasons; 1st. because it is read by a good many Christians who are, or were strongly prejudiced against Socialism and indeed utterly ignorant of its true principles; and 2nd, because the only way I found of making Socialists amenable to evangelical propaganda, was to show them that Christianity really leads to Socialism. I am thankful to say that in both respects something has been done—the *Avant Garde* has obtained similar results among more educated members of both classes.

You ask what the prospects are as to union among socialistic bodies here. I think they are pretty fair—though it is strange that so many high words as have passed between the two chief organizations (Parti Socialiste Francais, Parti Socialiste de France) can be easily forgotten. Socialism is greatly on the advance here, but is constantly in danger of becoming a mere variety of political radicalism, or else of shutting itself up in narrow sectarian formulas; besides being generally violently anti-religious, so much so that economic questions are often lost sight of to make place for anti-religious propaganda. Yet that anti-religious prejudices can be overcome, is shown by the position Biville holds among the Socialists of Caen, Vignols among those of Rennes, and myself here.

My friends have received the pamphlets, which have been very eagerly discussed.

Looking forward to the pleasure of seeing you next year,
I remain yours very truly

PAUL PASSY.

IV

LETTER IN REPLY

New York, March 30, '05.

Prof. Paul Passy—No. 20 Rue-de-Madeleine, Bourg-la-Reine, France.

Dear Comrade:—I duly received your good letter of Feb'y 5th and read it at the time with great interest, but, as I was then very busy, laid aside the pamphlets for a later reading. I have just now read the one on the religious situation in France, and find it very illuminating. Certainly the two-fold movement represented by the "Avant Garde" and the "Cloche d'Alarme" represents the healthiest phase in religion in France today; and I should say, must contain the germ of something great in the future, or else France is to go down. For Atheism, whatever it may mean to a few high-bred intellectuals, means *degeneracy* if held by the masses; and it must be a long time before Catholicism in France can become, if ever it can, as good a form of religion as it is in this country.

Though your movement is small in numbers, you must find an immense satisfaction in the clearness of its creed, both religious and social, and in its fitting exactly your convictions in both these lines; and of course you have also the satisfaction of feeling that the movement is *vital*, and that effort put forth for it is not wasted.

We in this country who are Christians *and* Socialists are in an unhappy state at present, from having no place where we are quite at home; but I hope that before long there will be many individual churches which will at least welcome the teachings of Socialism, whether they explicitly declare for it by name or not. Perhaps a "denomination" of Socialist Christians will spring up, though it is doubtful whether this would be the most effective mode of propaganda. At least there will be, before long, an association of Christains pronouncing explicitly for proletarian Socialism; and we shall find much comfort in meeting each other in such an association. I think that in forming such association, the utmost pains ought to be taken not to detract in the least from the Socialist party, and to make it evident to the party workers that we design not in any way a substitute for their activity but hope to contribute many voters and workers to the party. It will be much easier to make the party leaders understand and believe this than it would have been even a short time ago; and I am sure the organization can be so handled as to cause only cordial feeling among them (except of course a few of the old suspicious anti-religious type.)

Very Sincerely Yours, W.

V

CLOSING PASSAGE OF PROF. PASSY'S PAMPHLET ON "THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN FRANCE"

Two movements still remain to be described, which have recently arisen within the confines of Protestantism, but which are beginning to enlarge their borders in several directions.

First comes the movement called *Social Christianity*, inaugura-

(Continued on Page 3)

Socialism and Religion in France and in the United States

(*Continued from Page 2*)

ted about fifteen years ago by Pastor T. Fallot. Its chief characteristic is a violent reaction against the middle-class conservatism of which I have spoken above, and also against the exclusive interest in personal salvation which belonged to the men of the Awakening. The Social Christians, without in the least denying that man is individually sinful and in need of radical regeneration, declare that Society as a whole is sinful: they think that Christianity ought, therefore, to transform it from top to bottom, and achieve, here below, the triumph of Justice. They believe that in this way they are returning to the spirit of primitive Christianity. Amongst the Social Christians there are all varieties of shades. Several go so far as to support the most extreme demands of revolutionary Socialism, which they look upon as the application of Christian principles to economic and political questions. Some have enrolled themselves in the ranks of militant Socialists; I mention, for instance, R. Biville, Professor of Law at the University of Caen and Treasurer of the Socialist Federation of Lower Normandy. They would no doubt be more numerous did not most of the Socialist groups, which are committed to Free-Thought, repel them by their sectarian intolerance. But there is no denying that some progress has been made in this respect; if the influence of the Social Christians continues to be exerted with tact as well as with energy, it is to hoped that the Socialists will in the end recognize their allies and open their ranks at least to the most advanced among them. Others are anarchists, such as H. Tricot, who was a prisoner at Clairvaux with P. Kropotkin, and who, since his conversion to Christianity, has repudiated none of his Socialist principles except the appeal to force.

The other influence, which on some of its sides is related to pietism, but which takes up an independent and at times hostile attitude towards the organized Churches, also claims to be a return to primitive Christianity on another point. Its professors consider that the Reform of the 16th century was incomplete in not ridding Christianity entirely of the Roman clerical system, and in entrusting the direction of ecclesiastical and missionary work to a semi-sacerdotal caste, instead of making it the business of all Christians. A lay ministry, the personal testimony of each believer, the union of Christians of all denominations, the rejection of all tradition, are some of their favorite ideas; to these must be added an ardent desire to go out to the people, after the manner of the Russian revolutionists so well described by Kropotkin. To this set of influences belong the groups called the *Inner Mission*—that is to say, Christian lay and inter-ecclesiastical activity, which have existed in different parts of France for the last thirty years. This movement comprises the activities of several evangelists of rare power, such as Houter, Sainton and Delattre, who have gone through various districts, preaching primitive Christianity, and who have everywhere left profound traces of their passage. To this movement was due the foundation, quite recently, of the Society of Evangelist Volunteers. It is organized on the three-fold principle of the personal and unrewarded activity of all its members, of the brotherly co-operation of Christians of every denomination, and of work being undertaken exclusively in districts which are not yet evangelized. Its members go in bands to the villages and farms, with the colporteur's bag over their shoulder, selling Testaments, distributing tracts and engaging in conversations and meetings by the roadside and in the courtyards of houses, or even, at election times, posting up Christian statements on the walls.

There is no incompatibility between the two movements I have just been describing; on the contrary, since each is an effort to return to primitive Christianity, they ought to be able to work in harmony. And this seems to be happening more and more. Indeed, we see that the *Avant Garde*, "organ of the Social Christians of the French tongue," is devoted in large measure to evangelization according to lay methods; and almost the whole of the editorial staff of the *Cloche d'Alarme*, "the organ of democratic and anti-clerical primitive Christianity," professes opinions which are plainly Socialistic.

The reader who has followed me thus far will doubtless have no difficulty in guessing to what conclusion I am going to bring my article. Like the two groups of Christians of whom I have just spoken, I am also convinced that it is in a pure and simple return to primitive Christianity that the solution of the present crisis is to be found; that primitive Christianity alone, accepted with all its moral, ecclesiastical and social consequences, possesses sufficient force to take hold of the soul of our nation and regenerate it. But are there to be found in France Christians, free from all middle class prejudices and from all ecclesiastical traditions, in sufficient numbers and with sufficient energy of conviction to induce a movement towards primitive Christianity which shall have effect on the mass of the people? This is a question which I cannot undertake to answer.

PAUL PASSY.

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TO THE WORKERS

BY CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the World?
Shall you complain who are the world?
Of what the world may do?
If, from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you.

The world's life hangs on your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand;
You hold the whole world in your hand,
See to it what you do!
For dark or light,
For wrong or right,
The world is made by you!

Then rise as you ne'er rose before!
Nor hoped before!
Nor dared before!
And show as was ne'er shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one—
See justice done!
Believe, and Dare, and Do!

GREAT MEETING AT NEWARK

Editor The Christian Socialist:

I thought your readers would be interested in an account of a great meeting held here by the Socialists of Newark, N. J. The Y. M. C. A. Hall, holding over 1,000 people, which we have never been able to get before because of prejudice, was filled to overflowing. The Mayor and Congressman purchased tickets and were probably there. A large number of Christian Ministers were there and impressed by the great gathering, Over $100 was realized from the sale of reserved seats. All the rest of the house was free and a collection was taken of $65.00. 135 copies of "Mass and Class", by Comrade Ghent, and 130 copies of Comrade Smiley's book "What are Trusts Leading to" were sold and literature was distributed free. Comrade Mills made a great speech and at the close sold 50 copies of his book at a club rate of $1.50 each. The total profit realized was about $100. It was our May Day celebration and all the comrades were greatly encouraged.

G. H. Strobell.

WARSAW AND CHICAGO

Warsaw is in Russian Poland under the heel of the Tzar. Chicago is in America, "the land of freedom and prosperity." But in both cities the government is against the people in favor of the masters.

In Warsaw the workmen striking for higher wages are shot down by the soldiers of the Tzar. In Chicago the U. S. Judge has issued a wholesale injunction against the workmen which, if enforced, means the loss of the strike. The U. S. government does not believe in "fair competition," any more than Russia does, else it would stand aside and let the workmen and their masters settle this competition themselves. "But, in that case the workmen would surely win!" Exactly, which shows which side the government is on when it takes a hand—*always to prevent the workmen winning*.

In Warsaw it is Imperial troops sent by the government with no choice of their own. In Chicago imported men, strangers in the city, white and black, who deliberately hire themselves to defeat their brother workmen and rivet their chains upon them, are *armed with rifles* and *protected by police* while they drive over and shoot down unarmed citizen-workmen. Which shows how "impartial" the new Mayor and city government are toward "fair competition" between masters and workmen!

Is it strange, my lords and ladies, that with their masters protected by all the judicial and police powers of nation and city and the rights of these workmen, *who elected both national and city governments*, trampled under foot, the workmen should get desperate and use any weapon at hand to fight with?

Is it not most strange that these workmen do not always, everywhere use their BALLOT—the best weapon—against their masters and their master's goverment?

The new municipal ownership administration in Chicago is completely demonstrating the foolishness of any workman who votes a capitalist ticket under any pretext.

"The Bible and Socialism," by Rev. George W. Woodbey, is a carefully made booklet which will be helpful to any student of historical economics, especially to one who believes the Bible. It may be obtained at this office for 20 cents, postage prepaid.

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OUR PATH

We, we have chosen our path—
Path to a clear-purposed goal,
Path of advance! but it leads
A long, steep journey, through sunk
Gorges, o'er mountains in snow!
—Matthew Arnold.

"Why are the masses estranged from the Church?" Because they think that the Church fails to teach and do what Christ taught and did.

A merchant recently remarked to me that the neglect of the Church by the masses in the present circumstances is fortunate for both the masses and the church; for, if the Church were popular now, the people would be misled and the Church confirmed in its wrong attitude toward private riches.

When the Church comes into harmony with Christ's words and deeds her popularity with the masses will be assured.—W. B. G.

"The average house is the ugliest thing in a country landscape," says Rev. E. P. Powell. "It has rarely a line of beauty or of peace, or a suggestion of rest, inside or outside of it. It is just a barn for human folk."

Yes, for the average citizen can not afford a better and has not time to enjoy it. By and by, when the workday is reduced to four hours and the income increased to $10.00 per day, we may have real homes and time to enjoy them.

I have for some time been convinced that no man ever becomes rich without hardening his heart. On the way from comparative poverty to wealth a man perpetually meets cases of actual need which he ought to relieve,—cases which appeal to his humane feelings, if he has any, besides the work of assisting those who are carrying on active propaganda for the good of mankind. These opportunities increase as fast as a man's income does, and unless he refuses to meet them as they come, he cannot accumulate property. R. W. W.

What is the source of the really hurtful infidelity of today? Why is it hard to persuade men to trust the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ? Because God's world reveals injustice, greed, avarice, lust, foul political corruption, gross intemperance, savage hates, base passions, and hideous social shames. The heavens declare the glory of God, but only persons can show His love and His righteousness. The earth can reveal God's handiwork, but only organized human life can fully illustrate His essential righteousness. The world still waits for a Holy Community, the whole creation still groans and travails in pain together waiting for the revealing of God as loving Purpose in the whole of human life.—Thomas C. Hall, D. D.

It is quite the style for ministers, editors and patriots in general to rail mercilessly against the man who sells his vote, and truly that man is to be condemned. But is he not MUCH BETTER than the man who buys a vote?

The man who sells his vote does so because he is either ignorant of the value of his vote, (which indeed is always true, else he would never sell it,) or he is in pitiful need. The poor fellow whose wife and children are ill-clad and ill-fed upon the pittance he earns, and who does not see what difference it makes to him who is elected, is not one hundredth part so much to blame as the man who buys that vote.

So long as the rich and "cultured" people are willing to "influence" the election, or support those who do, the thunders of our condemnation should be hurled against them more fiercely than against those who are so severely tempted by a few dollars because of their extreme need and their ignorance of what their vote really would be worth to them if properly used.

The men who buy votes are wilful corrupters of the government, deliberate traitors against honor and freedom, cruel tempters of their less fortunate brothers who are thus, in their ignorance and poverty, betrayed into crime and loss. Let the pulpit, the press and all honest people condemn the man who uses money for influence in elections, councils, legislatures, courts and Congress, and let that condemnation be fearless, scathing, impartial.

"Why should ignorant men be allowed to vote?" inquires Comrade Jones. Because the tendency to enlarge the franchise safeguards liberty, whereas the tendency to restrict the franchise favors tyranny. It is much better to allow ignorant men and women to vote than to attempt restrictions which would surely be made a pretext to limit freedom. It is easier to educate ignorant men—much more so their children—than to regain a lost step toward universal suffrage.

If universal suffrage were allowed in Belgium and Germany the Co-operative Commonwealth would soon become a fact there. If universal suffrage were allowed in Russia the least result would be the speedy establishment of a constitutional monarchy, most likely a Socialist state, for communism in land is an idea that prevails already among the rural people of that oppressed country.

But the very basis of all government usurpation and tyranny is the idea that the people are too ignorant for self-government,—an inferior class fit only to be ruled with a rod of iron. Let us extend the franchise, not limit it, until every man and woman has a free and equal voice in the affairs of government. Meanwhile let us educate,—not merely in the art of getting other people's money, but in the art of putting the ballot to the noblest use.

HASTEN!

BY C. W. BECKETT

Every man is his brother's bane,
Where sloth brings honor and labor scorn.
Of fellowship yet shall the earth be fain,
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn.

Life is hopeless in park and slum,
Where sloth brings honor and labor scorn.
All shall be well in the days to come,
Hasten we, hasten the happy morn!

WASTED YEARS

BY C. L. STODDARD

They were years of arduous labor,
They were years of strenuous strife,
When with brain and hand together
I wrought at the work of life.

I wrought with toil unceasing,
I framed it wisely and well,
But sand was beneath the structure,
And that which I builded fell.

Then I said, "I will build more wisely,
Once more will I begin,
My hand has not lost its cunning,
But in my heart was sin."

And as I planned and labored,
God looked on the thing I wrought
And blew with His breath upon it,
And the work of my hand was naught.

As I think of the weary struggle,
When within were hopes and fears,
And without disappointment and failure,
I must call them wasted years.

But I cannot regret their passing;
For out of the toil and strife
Has come an understanding
Of the deeper meaning of life.

And in spite of the vain repining,
In spite of the bitter tears,
My heart has learned its lesson
And is glad of the wasted years.

Carlinville, Ill.

THE MOST INTERESTING PHENOMENON OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By courtesy of Mr. Rufus W. Weeks we reproduce in full his much talked of Newark Address, delivered before the Alumni Association of the Newark High School, of which Mr. Weeks was a graduate in 1863. The fact that he is Actuary and Second Vice-President of the New York Life Insurance Company adds interest to this otherwise interesting deliverance.

The Newark Evening News, in reporting the address in full, said that "when he had finished his address most of his auditors apparently agreed with him."

He spoke as follows:

"That great movement of which we have seen the beginning in the nineteenth century, and of which the twentieth century is very likely to see the consummation, is the uprising of the working class. Before speaking of this movement, let me spend a few uninteresting moments in definitions. By the term working class is meant those people who work with their hands for wages; the term, therefore, does not include all workers, by any means, but only that largest section of the workers called the manual proletariat, whom the conditions of their employment force into a potentiality of common feeling and thought; of a common indignation, a sense of common needs, and a sense of power in common action.

"Other workers have not this potentiality of community-consciousness; for instance, there are the farmers, the clerks, the professional workers. The farmers imagine themselves independent units, and do not know the trick of coalescing for common advance; the clerks all imagine themselves to be on the road to be head clerks or even corporation officials, and so cannot league together in comradeship; the professional worker is dominated by pride in his individual ability and training, and so he cannot grasp the notion of mutual help as the main hope.

"The working class, then, the proletariat so-called, means those who are hired in herds, mostly by corporations, and mostly to work at machines of one kind or another; from the point of view of the corporation they are simply an extension of the machine. This very merging of these men into the machine throws them into an unity with each other: it is an education, it teaches the hopelessness of resistance except by the way of mutual help; and so from guerillas they are forced to become a phalanx. Slowly, slowly, the lesson is ground into them, slowly the phalanxes themselves learn the trick of grouping into an army. An army of resistance, not essentially of aggression; for their effort is to resist that inexorable, inevitable, constant pressure which is inherent in the capitalist system of production—the pressure by the employing class to get the utmost possible product out of the worker for the least possible share of that product. It is this pressure and the answering resistance which are called the class-struggle; the class-struggle is, hence, a mathematical and economic fact, though so many of our pastors and masters unite in pious rebukes of the wicked agitator who points out that fact.

BALLOTS INSTEAD OF STRIKES

"Now what is the weapon with which, thus far, the working class has been fighting in this war? Only that poor, pathetic weapon, ceasing to work, comically miscalled 'striking.' Their own starvation is their weapon, coupled, of course, with clumsy efforts to enforce the dictates of class ethics upon those weak-conscienced individuals who shirk the call to starvation.

"But now it is dawning on the mind of the proletarian giant that there is another weapon handy; we of the 'better classes' created it for him when we established universal suffrage, and we put the possibility of the use of it into his mind when we established universal education. Gifts, these (the suffrage and education) which having once given we can never take back. The new weapon is the ballot; and what will it mean when the working class awakes and takes this weapon in hand to work out its mind? The ballot means the whole power of the State: courts, police, army; and what will happen when the working class takes in hand all these powers to establish and enforce the idea of justice innate in its mind?

"Even in this country the numerical preponderance of the working class grows apace. The successive censuses tell the story in such items as these: the rapidly diminishing ratio of farm owners to the entire population, the decimation and reduction to powerlessness of the small independent business men, the supplanting of the male clerk by his sister, and, greatest of all, the enormous increase of the factory population. The coming dominance of the working class even here is as sure as mathematics; in Europe it is already a numerical fact; and twenty years ago I heard James Bryce say that the drastic use of this power is only a matter of a few years, being a corollary of the universal suffrage. The ballot-armed proletariat, awake and aware, will then be able to work out its purpose. The grave question now is: What will that purpose be?

"There is in the world a group of thinkers who claim they know the answer to this question. This group is international. Its members are most numerous in Germany, next in France, but increasing, now in Great Britian and rapidly in this country. These men are unsparing analysts, and inexorable forecasters; they have sounded the depths of the self-unconcious proletarian mind, and they have announced what the will of the working class is to be, as fast as it comes to its sense of itself. Of course there are critics aplenty in the cultured classes who handle the conclusions of this group with all shades of condemnation and contempt; but these critics are themselves of many and shifting schools, and amidst them all what alone remains unchanged is the terrible certitude of the Socialists, for by this name is known the group I mean. They alone feel they know the future; NONE OF THEIR CRITICS DARE SPEAK WITH ANY CONFIDENCE OF AN ALTERNATIVE OUTLOOK.

SOCIALISTS AND ANCIENT CHRISTIANS

"Standing, as I do, before you, and speaking of the Socialist movement, I feel something as a possible ancient incarnation of myself might have felt, standing before an audience of cultured and refined persons in Rome at the end of the first century, trying to talk to them of the Christians. For, as soon as the word 'Socialism' is pronounced, the average person thinks of something subterranean, something fantastic, a mixture of a lovely dream and a dynamite nightmare; and that is just what the educated Roman thought of if any one said 'Christian' to him. The average Roman of culture and refinement looked with aversion upon the Christians as underminers and overthrowers of the existing social order and institutions, just as today the same kind of person looks upon the Socialists as workers towards some cataclysmic horror.

"The resemblance goes further. Even as the disreputable Christians were at that moment the potential lords of the future, so may at this moment be the despised Socialists; and for parallel reasons. The Christians had the future because they were the only set of men possessed of a clear and passionate conviction in the midst of a tumultuous world of weltering half-beliefs and of cruel selfishness; today it is likely that the Socialists have the future, because the world of today is a tumultuous sea of half-held beliefs, and of the cross purposes of the self-seeking powerful; and the Socialists are the only compact body of men in sight who know what they believe and what they are resolved on.

"Further runs the parallel; the Christians succeeded because the doctrine they preached was one which had an irresistible fascination for the masses in the promise it held out to them of a world of bliss close by, only separated from them by the easy door of martyrdom; the Socialists, it seems, must prevail because their doctrine has an irresistible attraction for the masses of today—promising, as it does, a surcease of sordid struggle, with only one door to pass before entering upon that better state—the door of a triumphant election.

"How the history of these times to be written by and by will speak of the Socialists may, perhaps, be guessed from what the venerable German historian Mommsen said of them a year or two since: 'TODAY THIS IS THE ONLY GREAT PARTY WHICH HAS A CLAIM TO POLITICAL RESPECT.'

NO PRODUCT; NO INCOME

"Supposing, then, that the Socialists have read truly the subconscious mind of the proletariat which is to fix the ways of the future community—let us go on to ask what those ways are to be? What, first, is to be the standard of right and justice? To this the Socialists say that the workers' law will be: 'NO PRODUCT; NO INCOME;' that every man must be a producer, or be actually useful to the producers, or else be scorned and be denied share in the product. One puff of the giant's breath will blow away all that fine mechanism of law and business through which we now mulct the product of the worker on all sides under such guises as rent, interest, profit, fee and salary. The only citizenship held honorable will be economic citizenship—COMRADESHIP IN PRODUCTION and in the sharing of product.

The next question we ask of the Socialists is how this fine canon of justice is to be put into action—in what way is industry to be carried on? The answer of the Socialists is that that will be the affair of the experts who will have it in hand when the time comes.

The proletariat, familiar with machinery and with its exact sequence of effect from appliance, reverent also of science, will entrust to scientific men the direction of its processes, precisely as now do the stockholders of a corporation. There is now developing in various parts of the world—notably in England and Belgium—a science of co-operation, which is producing a corps of specialists in that best and finest of all sciences, and an army of workers disciplined in applying it. And it is to such trained hands that the task will be entrusted of replacing our present antiquated, clumsy, indirect process of production and distribution by a simple direct process.

"At this point it is likely that some one is thinking, 'A moment ago you called our present system a fine mechanism and now you call it a clumsy process.' Well, it is either—according to the point of view. As a machine for abstracting from the worker the largest possible share of his product—mainly in insensible ways—it is a marvel of ingenuity and effectiveness, while, on the other hand, looked at with regard to its economic function, its contribution to human welfare, its only true reason for existence—which is the production of the largest possible volume of useful commodities and the distribution of these commodities as widely and as evenly as possible—it is a rude and clumsy machine.

(Continued on Page 8)

EPISCOPAL MINISTERS CONDEMN WAGE-SYSTEM

We are indebted to Rev. Silas B. Duffield, of St. Thomas Parish, Somerville, Mass., for extensive clippings from the Boston Globe reporting a remarkable meeting. We quote a part of the Globe's report:

The opening of the annual convention of the Church Association for the advancement of the interests of labor, which is connected with the Episcopal church in this country, was preceded yesterday by sermons having special reference to the labor interests IN MORE THAN A SCORE OF EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN BOSTON VICINITY. The object for which the association was formed was mainly TO CO-OPERATE WITH LABOR ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE BETTERMENT OF THE CONDITIONS OF ALL THE WORKERS, and, naturally, the addresses or sermons yesterday were along the line calculated to stimulate or awaken the interest of the average auditor to the general condition of the worker and to induce everyone to do whatever individual effort may do to improve living conditions and raise the physical, intellectual and moral standard among the toilers.

Rev. Dr. William H. Van Allen, in a sermon on "The Hireling Fleeth Because He is an Hireling," in the church of the Advent yesterday morning, condemned the wage-system as a form of slavery differing in a degree only from chattel slavery and pronouncing its abolishment the ideal for the consummation of which Christian people must aspire. He said:

"The wage system is not wholly bad, nor has it been without its place in the development of society, but it is not a finality. We must aspire to its eventual abolishment and to a social condition where men shall work together for the good of one another.

"How will this be done? Slavery was more interwoven in the social fabric during our Lord's time than is the wage system today. The Lord did not enumerate a proclamation for the freedom of slaves, but he gave principles by means of which this was brought about.

"The wage-system is a form of slavery, not as bad as chattel slavery, it is true, but it is slavery according to the essence of the thing by which a man becomes the means of an end to another man.

"I am absolutely certain that as chattel slavery was done away with, so the wage-system will disappear.

"President Eliot talks of the joy of work. That is a catching phrase. Some of us do joy in it, and the reason why is because we are not hirelings. We have not starvation staring us in the face.

"Think of the thousands who toil in the mines and factories of Pennsylvania to enable Mr. Carnegie to give away libraries with money that they have earned. I would not want books bought that way.

"Between the factions of employer and employe, the Church must come as the conciliator to lead the way. All social evils of every sort, arise from the failure to recognize what the Fatherhood of God means. The remedy for these evils is the incarnation. Christ's gospel is a perfect compendium of philanthrophy and economics as well as of divinity."

CO-OPERATION COMING

Rev. Appleton Grannis said: "It is a healthy sign that men have come at last to have some idea of their responsibilities in the matter of the treatment of labor, and so far as that conscientiousness prevails, he added, we shall have the kingdom of God on earth.

"The great mass of working men in the labor organizations are intelligent, honest and conscientious. It is a distinct advantage to society that the organizations continue to exist, and they are certain to do so, in one form or another, since the workingman realizes his helplessness when standing alone."

Dr. D. D. Addison said: "There will not be much improvement in labor conditions as long as the idea of mutual warfare exists. Can we not see signs that the next great steps will be co-operation? We must learn to treat one another as members of God's family instead of as members of an animal family."

DEFENDS LABOR UNIONS

"God bless the labor unions," declared the Rev. Floyd W. Tompkins. "Trades unions," said Mr. Tompkins, "are here to stay. They more positively declare the doctrines of Jesus Christ, 'Bear ye one anothers' burdens.' They are the expression of a magnificent altruism.

"Trades unions have come to stay because they have lifted up the whole field of labor.

"Trades unions have bound workingmen together as brothers carrying out the idea of Jesus Christ. I admit they make mistakes. We all do that. They seem at times to go against the theory but they unite for unity and hence they are the work of God.

"Trades unions have bound men together for men's own helpfulness. Laboring men think and study in a way that would put many Harvard men to shame. Why is it that the study of economics and sociology is so great at present among our great universities? 'Because of trades unions.'"

Many union officials were present and joined in the discussion. They greatly appreciate the attitude of the Church in this matter.

It was noticeable that Bishop Lawrence and some others are rather fearful of what he termed "quack remedies," meaning possibly Socialism, but their just condemnation of wage-slavery means that sooner or later they will see that Socialism or wage-slavery is inevitable. That some of these ministers are Socialists is evident.

It is a cause of deep gladness and great hope that such a body of representative Churchmen have, at this critical time in the development of the labor movement, spoken so wisely, bravely and encouragingly in behalf of labor's rights.

"Laboring men are suspicious of the Church. We are tearing down the barriers!" said Rev. A. J. Arkin. And may God help them to do it thoroughly.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF RAILROADS

BY O. F. DONALDSON

How we are moving towards Socialism! How many are contributing to this common end! How one is our aim, our hopes, our destiny!

These and kindred thoughts came to me while riding on a train recently. I had been noticing the system, the economy, the care and protection given to the passenger service. But my attention had been attracted to the news item stating that "Jim" Hill had succeeded at last in merging the northern roads into the Northern Security Company.

Years ago each little road, a few miles long, connected adjoining towns and was operated under separate ownership. A day came when the nonsense and inconvenience of this disjointed system became unbearable. A merger of these little roads into one road took place. A railway system was formed. And how fearful and ominous of pending ill seemed this congestion of wealth and power under one management and control? Still the system progressed.

A system often took in ten to twenty of these little roads and made them one. Thus several of the eastern roads were formed.

The men who created these systems, opposed the conservative financiers, the people and the courts of their day just as Jim Hill is doing.

This was but a step in the right direction. A partial correction of the error. Railroad men soon found that it was impracticable to operate systems without some close understanding or united management. This could not be accomplished at once. The enormous wealth required to secure ownership was not available. And the advantage was not apparent to many. Means and education was needed first.

So pooling was resorted to and agreements were made. Today the whole United States is covered by a few traffic classification associations who make the tariffs for all the roads, passenger associations, weighing associations, etc, as a result. This is by no means an unqualified success. Agreements are not always possible. Disagreements mean rate wars, cutting of dividends, etc.

The better and keener financial leaders see that one control and one management must finally prevail. The subterfuges and makeshifts, now existing, are but preparatory to that end. They have for years been buying up stock and gaining control through ownership.

We have the Vanderbilt interests covering several systems. The Standard Oil interests covering others. Hill and his crowd owning others.

It is sometimes asserted that the agreement of three men can control the railway transportation of the United States.

Hill has gone one step further and placed the entire ownership of three railway systems into one company. The people have no particular objection to Hill owning a controlling interest in these three roads. But when he wants to create a greater system by uniting them for purposes of better administrative control, the people object.

Hill is however successful. The movement for a united railway system throughout the United States goes on. We can even believe that some of these men hope to accomplish this within their day of power. Its possibility has been a matter of prophecy for years past. No doubt that it will come.

So the Socialist, who builds his hope upon this future event, and the men who scoff at Socialism are so far united in thought as to expect and look forward to the day when one ownership and one control will handle the railway traffic of this country.

When this time comes the Socialist can reasonably demand that what is socially used should be socially owned. But do not let us forget that the present forward movement is an essential part of this program of socialization.

Looking up from my reverie, I caught the eye of my companion and remarked: "So Hill won out?"

"Yes," said he, "T'is foolish to oppose the inevitable".

If you are receiving the Christian Socialist regularly it is paid for by some one. When a subscription runs out we notify the subscriber and stop the paper, unless he remits at once. We will not impose the paper upon any one who does not want it, and we can afford no "dead heads" on our list.

Comrades have you tried to get the preachers in your vicinity to subscribe for the Christian Socialist?

TO CHRISTIAN WORKERS

It is a remarkable proof of the fairness and fearlessness of present religious thought, as compared with that of even a decade ago, when, out of nearly one thousand Y. M. C. Associations which have received two successive issues of the Christian Socialist with the statement printed therein that it would be donated to them for a year, ONLY FIVE have so far refused to receive it. If any others will not receive it and allow it to be placed on their reading tables, I hope they will have the courtesy and fairness to notify this office to that effect as these five have done. But I hope that these five, and all the others, will be generous, just and wise enough to give a fair hearing, for one year at least, to this Messenger which comes to them in the name of Christ and Our Father. Socialism is a PROMISE too grand or a THREAT too terrible to be ignored; and Christian Socialism must be of vital interest to all who care for the Truth of God and the uplifting of the suffering world.

The following note was recieved from a Y. M. C. A. Secretary whose name is omitted to avoid offense:

"We have no room for such a publication. You could engage in something more profitable than slandering the Church."

I merely wish to say that as I receive no salary whatever for my manifold work and heavy burden-bearing in behalf of this paper, it might indeed be "more profitable" for me, materially, to do something else, as the Secretary himself does, at so much per month. Yet, in a moral and spiritual sense, I am profoundly convinced that no Secretaryship or Pulpit in the land, much as I revere the work of these positions, could afford an opportunity of reaching so many thousands of men and women with a message so "profitable for the life that now is and that which is to come."

The charge of slandering the Church is based upon a mistake which would be corrected if the paper were read for a reasonable length of time. The chief purpose of this paper is to help the Church get her bearings again in the wilderness of modern commercialism; to follow the path so clearly marked out by Christ himself and trodden by the early church.

It is the old battle of Truth and Justice against error and greed. The ancient prophets, Jesus himself, Savonarola, Luther,—every one whose fearless, burning message called the Church to repentance and right conduct, has been accused of "slandering the Church."

But the charge of slandering the Church is a serious one, and I invite, even urge, anyone who thinks this paper slanders the Church, to write a calm, kindly and fair article showing wherein I, or any of our contributors, have done so. Space in this paper is available any time for such an article, providing it is otherwise worthy to appear.

Permit me to express the hope that the Y. M. C. A. Secretaries will not arbitrarily attempt to prevent their supporters from receiving this paper as a friendly gift, and that all who have access to it may consider its contents with fairness and genuine intelligence. Let no one ignorantly or wickedly close his eyes to the new light which is flooding the social problems of the twentieth century. Each one of us needs all the light he can obtain from every direction if he would be wise and worthy enough to meet the tremendous responsiblities of our day, and if for no other reason, (supposing Socialism is evil,) every Christian worker should be thoroughly informed FROM THE SOCIALIST SIDE of the real meaning of Socialism so that he may know how best to meet the tidal wave that now sweeps over the world.

I am profoundly thankful for and deeply impressed by the fact that so many thousands of preachers, teachers, secretaries and Christian laymen are eagerly studying the immense problem of Social Salvation. The salvation of the world has been *talked about* for ages. This age shall witness the fact. Not only doctrines, but deeds are essential. Christ's words must be practically applied. And the Socialists challenge the world to actual practice of the words of Jesus in the affairs of business.

E. E. C.

Rufus W. Weeks sails for Europe June 2. He will visit England, France and other countries, meeting many distinguished Socialists of the old world, including Richard Heath, of London and Prof. Passy, of Paris.

For an elaborate, well-written, keen account of the Chicago Teamsters' strike from the inside viewpoint of a Union man and Socialist, which gives many startling facts which the Capitalist papers refused to publish, read Wm. Mailly's report in the Toledo (Ohio) Socialist of May 13.

A comrade who is generously practicing what he preaches writes the C. S. as follows: "There is no more effective way of serving both the cause of freedom and the cause of the Church than to strengthen you and your work."

It is now time for Chicago to begin to agitate municipal ownership of teams.—Atlanta Constitution.

Many a truth was spoken in jest. Don't worry. The time is coming.

Some are ordering bundles of Christian Socialists to distribute at religious services. Excellent idea.

TO A REPUBLICAN FRIEND—1848

BY MATTHEW ARNOLD

God knows it, I am with you. If to prize
Those virtues prized and practised by too few,
But prized, but loved, but eminent in you,
Man's fundamental life: if to despise

The barren optimistic sophistries
Of comfortable moles, whom what they do
Teaches the limit of the just and true
(And for such doing they require not eyes):

If sadness at the long heart-wasting show
Wherein earth's great ones are disquieted;
If thoughts, not idle, while before me flow

The armies of the the homeless and unfed—
If these are yours, if this is what you are,
Then am I yours, and what you feel, I share.

To Reach Y. M. C. A. Workers

A loyal supporter of class-conscious Christian Socialism in the East has subscribed $20.00 per month to send the Christian Socialist to every Young Men's Christian Association in the United States and Canada for one year. God bless him.

"It is easy to get subscribers for the Christian Socialist" writes one of the comrades.

Several public libraries are asking for the Christian Socialist as a donation. We are unable to meet this demand for lack of funds. Will not some of the comrades donate money to meet this demand? It would do the paper and the cause much good to have a copy in every library in the United States and Canada. It would help remove the idea which so many have (even some Socialists) that Socialism is hostile to religion.

Oh, for money enough to send at least three different samples to every preacher and teacher in America!

Many are sending us lists of names for samples which we are unable to fill for lack of funds. Comrades, "save your money and buy a" bunch of Christian Socialist samples.

HOW TO GET BOOKS

For a club of six new subscribers to the Christian Socialist we will send you postpaid a copy of either of the following excellent ONE DOLLAR books:

The Captive City of God, by Richard Heath, of England. The best book on Socialism and the Church.

Rebels of the New South, by Walter Marion Raymond. The most delightful Socialist novel published.

The Recording Angel, by Edwin Arnold Brenholtz. So thrillingly interesting that people sit up till three a. m. to finish it.

The Evolution of Property, by Paul Lafargue, the celebrated French scholar.

The International Socialist Review, a monthly periodical of scientific Socialism.

The Being With the Upturned Face, by Rev. Clarence Lathbury, a remarkably inspiring work on the inherent grandeur and possibility of the human soul, beautiful in typographical art.

"The Soul's Love Letter," by Mabel, an artless autobiography of a good woman, revealing her aspiration, temptation, sorrow, struggle, joy.

For a club of eight subscribers we will send "Mass and Class," the great book by W. J. Ghent, price $1.25. Or,

The White Terror and the Red, by A. Cahan, one of the Terrorists, a timely, thrilling and instructive story of Russian revolution.

For a club of twelve subscribers we will send the Nestor of Socialist books "The Struggle for Existence," by Walter Thomas Mills, price $2.50.

For two subscribers we will send a copy of Robert Hunter's famous book, Poverty. Paper cover, price 25c.

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